3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks [89] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[89] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[31]

[31] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pinook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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The Medicine Bundle

The existence of the medicine bundle complex [33] among the Delaware has apparently escaped the notice of recent investigators in the field of Delaware ethnology. Both Harrington (1921, pp. 36, 42, 49, 65-66) and Speck (1931, p. 42) mention the use of personal and tribal fetishes but omit any reference to the bundle concept, as such. This is doubtless due to the deeply religious convictions of the informants who regard such objects as too sacred to be displayed or discussed in the unclean environment in which they must perforce live. It was not until the conclusion of the work that I learned of my informant's ownership of a medicine bundle. He was reticent about speaking in detail of its contents, but inferred that it was made up of personal charms and medicines.

While the use of the medicine bundle among the Delaware is not accompanied by the highly developed ritualism observed by the Medicine Bundle societies [33] of the central Algonkian tribes and others in adjacent areas, there is a simple code, characteristic of the trend of Delaware religious thought, to which the owners of the bundles adhere.

The Delaware bundle is said to contain sacred articles which are assembled in accordance with injunctions laid down by one's spiritual guardian in a dream vision. In addition to pieces of roots for use in concocting secret formulæ, a bundle usually contains personal tokens such as a bird claw, a feather, a piece of bone or horn, an animal tooth, a magic stone, or emergency gift.[34] One man may have several or all of the articles enumerated while others possess only one. Each case is of course determined by the supernatural experience of the individual. For example, men of the warrior class carry, besides their individual charms, some particular medicine prepared for the exclusive use of warriors.[35] Hunters carry an animal lure also prepared from a formula handed down from older generations, and carefully preserved. The bundles of the herbal practitioners and sweat doctors contain portions of rare roots and plants used in their healing practices. These different

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[32] A term meaning "gathered together," used in speaking of the Medicine Bundle, refers to objects forming a collection intended for magical practices.

[33] This engrossing subject has been dealt with in detail by Skinner, 1913, p. 91; 1920, pp. 168, 266; Hoffman, 1893, p. 75; Kroeber, 1907, p. 418; Densmore, 1929, p. 93; Wissler, 1912, and 1916; Lowie, 1924 a, p. 335 ff.

[34] See medicine stone, p. 23.

[35] See warrior medicine, pp. 34-35.

778 sacred objects are wrapped in buckskin or cloth to protect them against exposure to unclean surroundings that might tend to defile such objects of sacred authorship.

778 787 The way in which such supernatural tokens are obtained by their owners is illustrated by the following. Once a man dreamed of seeing a plant, called by the Delaware, "frost" or "ice weed." He heard a voice which said to him, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I stay green longer in the fall. Use me and I will make you strong." The man then went out and obtained a specimen of the plant for his medicine bundle. In another case a boy saw a horned toad in his vision and knew that it was to be his guiding spirit. He went out in search of a horned toad and finding one, picked it up, saying, "Give me your horn." At the command the toad gave the youth his horn which the latter kept until an old man.

778 The medicine bundle is the most highly cherished material possession of a chief, warrior or medicine man. He may possess one or more bundles which he has the privilege later of bestowing upon another. This seldom occurs until a man has reached an advanced age, the period at which he feels inclined to transfer his power and supernatural tokens to a younger man. The person chosen to be the recipient of this sacred gift must be spiritually and physically clean. He is called into conference with the older man several times before the actual transfer is made. Then it is given to him with the admonition that he must use the power wisely and keep the bundle from defilement to avoid forfeiture of the sacred gifts. At times medicine bundles are not transferred through the lack of a youth competent to deal with matters of spiritual import. In such a case the bundle is buried with the owner. Or, at the request of the owner, a bundle is given to a relative or to one of his own class, *i. e.*, a doctor or a warrior. Among the Delaware, medicine bundles are never sold.

778 787 Medicine charms are believed to be extremely potent in the hands of their owners. A man may commune with his guardian by means of these material agents and thus secure spiritual guidance and aid in regard to problems of a worldly character. Thus the medicine man seeks knowledge during his diagnosis of the often perplexing cases brought to his attention; the hunter, his mind filled with a keen desire for success in the quest of game, concentrates on the token of his supernatural helper during his appeal to the Giver of Game through prayer. Similarly, the

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

757 278 11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

[752] 12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

[752] 15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

23 16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

778 726 [787] Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

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The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zelsberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

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[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. II), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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776 778 illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

172 776 778 Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[Facing p. 38]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw' from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{w} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[20] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

[facing p. 43]

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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room."

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*.

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭ'towŭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered,

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CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last chapter are merely representations of a supernatural being, and are not supposed to be the dwellings of a spirit or spirits except when worn by an impersonator, who is said to become imbued with the spirit when the mask is donned; nor are they usually supposed to possess inherent power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâli'-kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of images, usually of wood, representing the human form, which were supposed to possess life, or at least to be the residence of spirits, which, so far as can be learned, had no separate existence. They were supposed to understand what was said to them, and to have the power of pro-

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tecting the owner's health, to enjoy offerings, resent ill-treatment, and in fact seem to fall into the class of true fetishes. Usually, but not always, representing the female figure, they were kept as a rule by women, and were given yearly feasts, at which outfits of new clothes were put on them. The native name in Unami is *O''das*; in Minsi, *Nani'tls*. The ceremonies and beliefs associated with them will be described later, in the chapter on minor ceremonies. Most of the early writers seem to have overlooked them, which is not surprising, since they were matters of personal and not of public concern, and their rites were held in private. John Brainerd, however, mentions an "idol image" [31] which seems to be of this class, and a Minsi specimen is figured by Peter Jones[32] and mentioned by him in a footnote. This was afterward procured by the writer from Jones' son, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History (pl. VIII). John Brainerd (brother of the better known David) made his note of the custom

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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later. 776 778

TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *manl'towŭk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It 776 782 821

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774 776 particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manĭ'to* attributes.

776 778 Brainerd[33] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

[774] Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own.

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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu^{n}da'i wähe^{n}'ji manĭ'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manĭ'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ^{n}di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

[Text continues on page 103]

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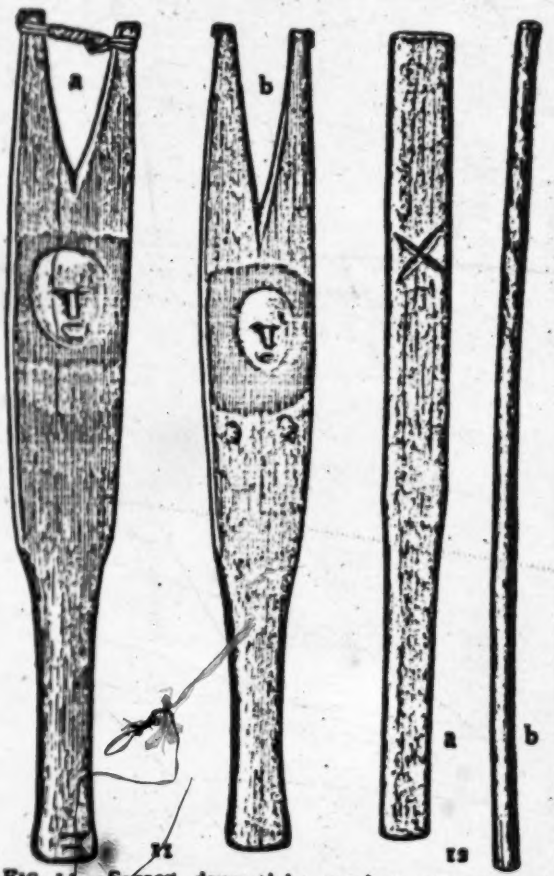

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

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At this time, also, twelve prayersticks (*ma'tehi'gun*) are distributed—six plain and six striped ones (fig. 12, *b*)—by two of the male attendants, each with six, one man starting from each end of the Big House and proceeding in a trot to distribute the sticks while the drum is beaten, and the people, holding up their hands, cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*"

Both drumsticks and prayersticks are used every night from this time on. If t so happens that the plain sticks do not fall opposite each other (or on opposite sides of the house), they must all be picked up again and redistributed. After this, those who have received a stick raise that instead of their hand, when they repeat the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" and carry it when they dance.

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TURTLE RATTLES

At this time, too, all who own turtle rattles such as are used in singing the visions (fig. 9), are requested to bring them in to the meeting, when they are placed in a row on the north side, in

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top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xeito''pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

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speaker, who picked them up one by one as he made his address, each string reminding him of one part of his speech. He began, my informant told me, by explaining that the Great Spirit had made all things—the earth, plants, streams, and waters—everything. Having thus enumerated all the things represented by the wampum, he proceeded to speak to each of the remaining twelve directly, holding the appropriate string in his hand. Thus he gave thanks to the Earth for the benefits it gives to man, and prayed that its blessings might continue; then thanked in the same way the Plants, the Streams and Waters, the Winds; the Corn, Beans, and Vegetables—each one in turn. As he finished each string he handed it to an attendant, who laid it aside. When his long speech or prayer was finished, he announced, 'We will now enjoy ourselves,' and selected a man to distribute little bunches of wampum, three beads in each, which served as invitations to join in the dancing that followed. These bunches were delivered only to a certain number of

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those known to be 'sober and honest' among the crowd in the long-house. If any person wishing to dance failed to get invitation wampum, it was his privilege to ask for one of the bunches, which was given him if he was considered qualified. The first man receiving wampum arose first; then the others, until the dancers were all on the floor. It is said that this dance, which sometimes lasted all night, did not circle around like most of the Iroquois dances, but each performer remained in about the same spot.

"I was told that in this dance a small rattle without a handle and made of turtleshell was used, probably like the box-turtle rattle still used in the annual Planting Dance by the Seneca and Cayuga."

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WAUBUNO'S VERSION

The only extended account in print, known to the writer, of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, beside his own, quoted above, is that furnished by John Wampum, known as Chief Waubuno,[1] which reads as follows:

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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the MIsi'ng^{w} helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ng^{w}*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases." 532 776 778

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume. 794

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^{n}-o^{n}-o^{n}!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up 794 796 751

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
•778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painted or carved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyū'hăm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng^{w} among the Unami.

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[44] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pabookowaih*—the god that crushes

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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tis.—Another early account of the Nani'tis among the Minsi may be found in the

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•778 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, among the documents relating to the Stockbridge Mission, written by the Rev. Cutting Marsh.[56] It reads as follows:

"Nov. 6th [1839]. A Munsee Indian who came to this place over a year previous from Canada called upon me with an interpreter in order to give up a family idol. This man whose name is Big-Deer is upwards of 50 years of age, and since removing to this place, thro' the influence of this family above mentioned has attended meetings constantly and gives some evidence of a change of heart.

"The history of this idol was very interesting. He said that his mother gave it to him before her death which occurred about 29 years ago, and that he had worshipped it until within a few years when he heard about Jesus Christ, but had never given it up before. 'Now he says I wish to give it up and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, and I give this idol to you and you may do what you are a mind to with it.' It was indeed not only a 'shameful thing,' but a horribly looking object about the size of a common doll; fantastically arrayed in Indian costume and nearly covered with silver broaches and trinkets; and whilst retained as an object of worship was kept wrapped up in some 20 envelopments of broad-cloth trimmed with scarlet ribbon. They called it their 'Mother,' it is more than a hundred

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years old, and its late possessor was the fourth generation which had worshipped it. The season for worshipping it was in the fall after a hunt when they made a feast to it and danced around it. 'If they did not do this every fall they said, that is, make the feast &c. it would be angry and destroy them by some dreadful sickness.' It was therefore an object of fear or dread with them, but not one of love and compassion."

BEAR CEREMONY

We will now consider two ceremonies of the Unami which are based on animal cults which show a considerable similarity not only in their traditional origin, but also in their ritual.

The more important seems to be the one called *Papasokwi''lün*, which, although no part of a bear appears in its rites as practised within recent years, was evidently a Bear ceremony in the days when these animals were abundant. It also exhibits some features suggesting the Annual Ceremony before described, but there is no Mlsi'ng$^{w't}$, and there are many other important differences.

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796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the down-pour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hä, hä," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

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shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. A transcript of the informant's version is as follows:

"It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

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THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe·n məs·i'ŋgəma, "he dances his face-image (mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

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The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pənda''ɜənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[2] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[2] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'ləwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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A B

FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illustrated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of cornhusk are to be made they should be made by a person born in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mąs*, "spring child." Persons, however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely, *Lowane'ke's*, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the operation of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather." In short, those born in summer can only exert influence through the making of images upon the creatures of the summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

778 821 [344]

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another amusement which among the Delawares took on the significance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads, one side in natural color, the other stained black, and other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women indulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering, the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

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8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Paahra, Idolatry, Faith and Religion and Sacrifices to Manitto: the Devil, Also Whether the Indians Have a Knowledge of Christ.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

[1] *Pâdhra (pôra).* This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pôra, bôia)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Beretteise* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post [778 532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, [182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed. (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e'lendamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] linz'ndowak·an.
[3] owe'lendamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape'mkwsi·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wolaggosowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale'tamowak·an)
[9] woli·'nak··sowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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771 114 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 346 778 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed mesi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ket·hak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'll-o-le-sying, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weiau'si-t motoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci-k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'nuka implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami·"ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."[1] To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.[2] We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title ke'kayo'm'he'a, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term ki'tei ma'nitu, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (ki'tei, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.[3] Yet

[1] The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology, American Anth. Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware Walam Olum (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut, Memoir 75, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc., (Brooklyn 1867). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

[3] So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Turtoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man·i't·u deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares. 776

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi·tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi·tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1] 776 829 608

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the 532 778

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood." 582 778

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi·tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

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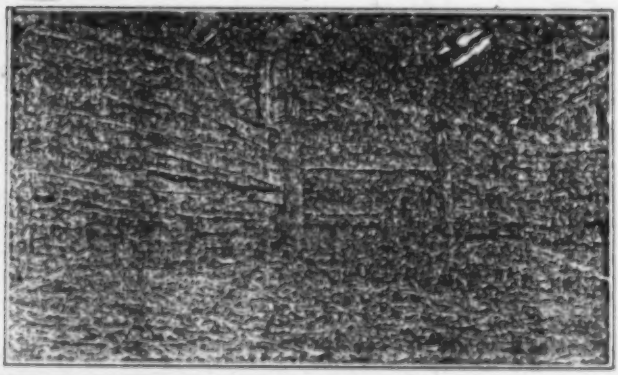

Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

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532 778 Delawares.[1] The term applied to them is mee-i'ng" (singular) "face." The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are portrayals of the spirit-forces (man-i'-towak (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Wi-tapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naïvely, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Wi-tapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

[1] Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Munsee, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Hariot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1896, p. 388); and Harrington, (Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists, Wash. 1915, pp. 82-3, 64-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. 1880-1, pp. 294-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. 532
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington[1] and was made the subject of questioning with Wi·tapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly 778 ●
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or 532
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as ma·i'ŋk'holi·'kan, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

[1] Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I, learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mas·ŋgka'n·t'ke') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1]

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mas·i'ŋk'holi·'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci-lo'eu "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wsinkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the l'ala'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

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The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1680. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 203) (Translated in vol. 1) Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. I, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahnkinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

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825 T13 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 T78 [302] Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[4]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.

Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
ss-ap'i-p'konas-t' makake'xki ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'iqqe'k-l ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't-l-s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'salato'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
co'salato'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delawares.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (ta'n-dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 778 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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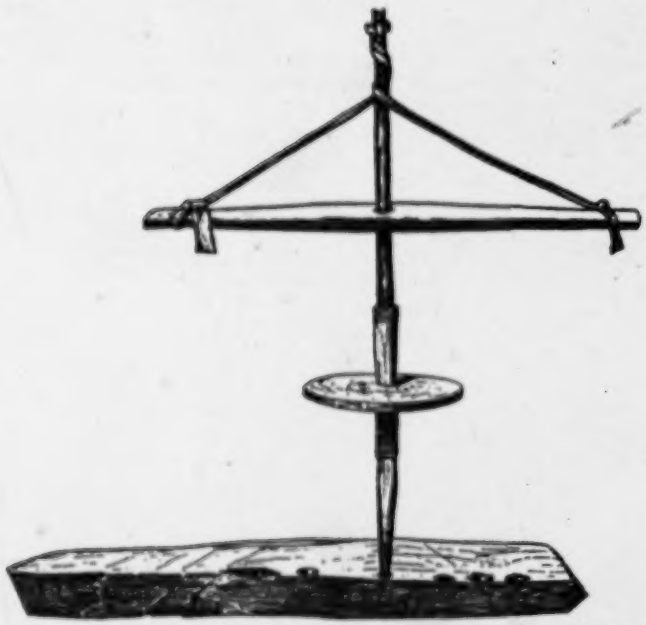

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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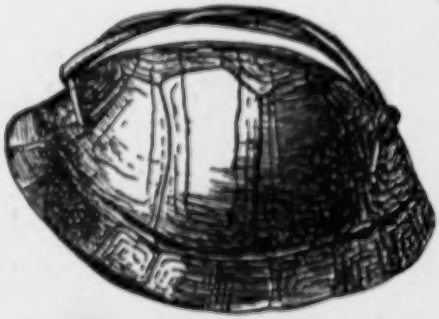

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xk[e]) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (po$_{\chi}$on·i·'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (pa$_{\chi}$kandi·'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (pa$_{\chi}$kandi·'k·an la$_{\chi}$a'usi·tci·k "forked-ones").[1] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[1] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwu·t (Wolf) group.

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FIG. 15—Delaware bark-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

FIG. 16—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

FIG. 17—Delaware Drum-beater marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma·mendahi·'k·ana', plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang·hi·'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (kəhə'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwən·u'sən·e'k·w), fig. 23, the paint, ola·'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manələ'k·e's), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ngawe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

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Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

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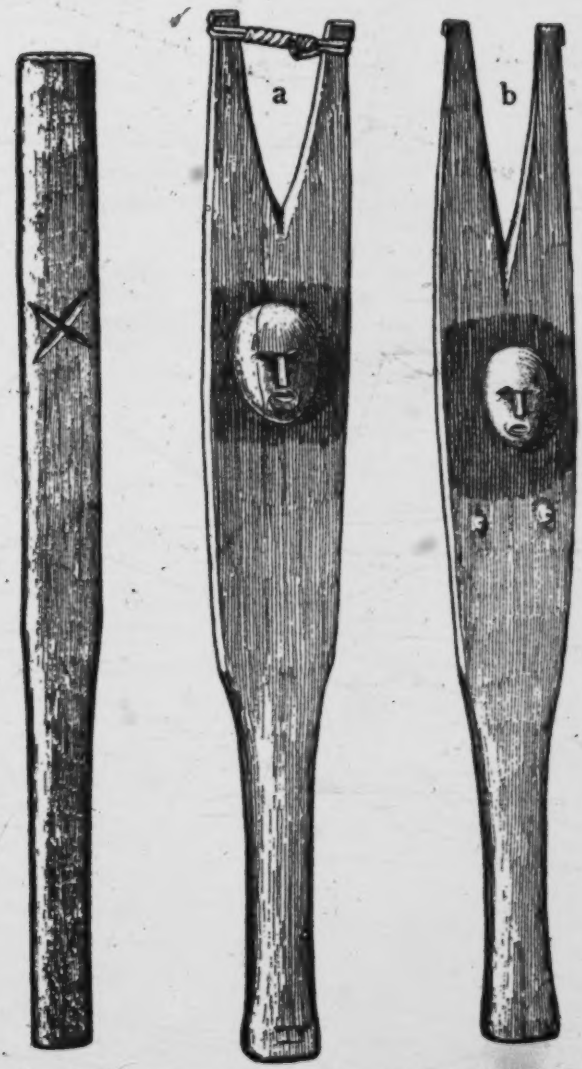

Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

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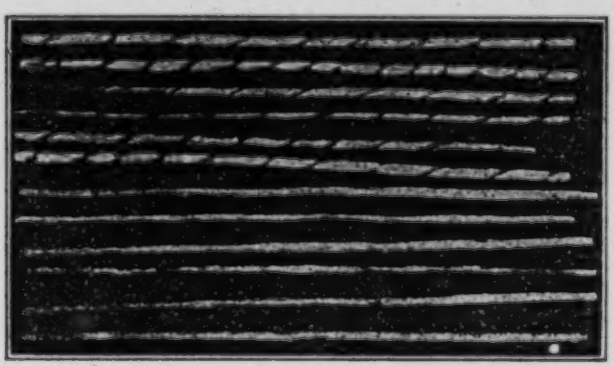

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Fig. 24—Delaware Prayer Sticks (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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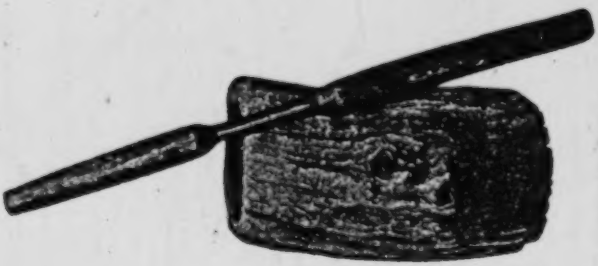

Fig. 23—Delaware Corn mortar and pestle used in Ceremony (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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"This, behold, is my dream
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it.'" 539x
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[1] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[2] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [757]

[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.

[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [204]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778] mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 531x
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole[2] group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si·t. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days' praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.

[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.

[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtegi'xsous "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k-an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3]

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[1] hemsi·k·as'wan·a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them.

539X 796 778 [776]

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

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[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas·i'ŋghil·k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38).

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[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala'hoan (cp. Malecite, abato'wən).

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When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuⁿk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.okən.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
783
778

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).